5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin #754

421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always
[566] subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had
454 all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and
574 above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

423 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually.
422 425 This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar position. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

the property of the owner as long as he can keep others from carrying it off and no longer. These raids are not theft in the Arab mind. The spirit is much like that of a game of football, where by craft or by superior power one side takes the ball from the other. The Bedouins are real sportsmen and take their losses with extraordinary equanimity. They hope to recoup themselves the next time and then possibly be richer than ever, for a time at least.

Two brothers came to the Mission Hospital in Kuwait a number of years ago, one of whom had been shot in a raid years before and suffered greatly as a result. It required many operations to cure him, but after a stay of perhaps five months he went home quite relieved. The sick man's brother took care of him with a steadfast optimism that was past praise. The wounded man was without property, whereas his loyal brother was a man of some wealth, but that made not the slightest difference.

One day, after they had spent perhaps four months with us, I spoke to the man about it. "You have been here," I said, "for some time now, and I understand that in your country you own considerable property."

"Yes," he said, "I am not altogether poor, though I have no great amount. It is mostly goats and camels, with a little household property."

"Well," I said, "are you not afraid that while you are away, your district may be raided and all that property taken? You have been here four months now and it will be some time still before you can leave."

"Oh," he replied, with a fine example of a Bedouin grin spreading over his face, "it has probably all been stolen by this time."

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MT54

"Well," I persisted, "the matter does not seem to trouble you a great deal."

"No indeed," with an even broader grin if that were possible. "It does not trouble me at all. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows? Perhaps I may have more than I had before."

The tribal fights that keep the country in a continual state of turmoil are little more than glorified raids for the sake of plunder. They intensify the poverty of the community, for legitimate trade is handicapped, and this irregular exchange of goods cannot in the nature of the case benefit the whole society, however much it may temporarily enrich individuals. But life without the excitement of these raids seems to the desert nomad a tame and a stale thing, hardly worth living. On the other hand, personal property, such as is kept in tents, is as sacredly individual as it is with us, and its theft is keenly resented. The conception that every man's home is his castle is one of the most fundamental ideas of the Arab, and when the crew of a gunboat many years ago attempted to search the inner quarters of a house in Dibai for firearms, the resulting indignation was so intense that foreigners found themselves unable to enter that district for nearly ten years. The household belongings that the Bedouin keeps in his tent may be poor things but they are very much his own.

This life of the desert, with its poverty and hardships and its primitive economic conditions, has nevertheless so worked its charm on the Bedouin nomad that he longs for nothing else. The Bedouin with his intense individualism seems particularly adapted to the desert. He loves its vast distances and its solitude. Anything less

656 186 of the Wahhabi movement which originated in the 18th century.

The Bedouin members of the Ikhwan were induced to sell their camels and settle down to an agricultural existence. Settlement was carried out by giving to the tribesmen land, money and technical aid.

162 X166 656 Sedentarisation has always been an important part of Ibn Saud's domestic policy. In 1928 there were already over 100 Ikhwan settlements in the Nejd. Artawiya, the oldest of the Ikhwan colonies, came into existence in 1912 and had by 1928 a population of about 10 000. In Ameen Rihani's list of 100 odd localities there are mentioned 34 settlements with an approximate population of 6 000 - 12 000. Dukhnah, a colony of the Harb tribe, has about 15 000 people.[1] In a few years Ibn Saud has thus succeeded in converting a great number of Bedouin into settled citizens.

656 425 In 1948 the government of Saudi Arabia declared its new national policy of granting state land to any citizen ready and willing to put it under cultivation.[2] In Arabia settlement is an artificial enterprise because it involves Bedouin, who from the economic point of view could continue their pastoral life for centuries yet. Of course, Ibn Saud is guided more by the political problems which the Bedouin present to his state structure than by economic necessity.

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1. Rihani's study of Ibn Saud contains a list of new settlements built by the tribes of Nejd under the influence of the Ikhwan. Each colony is given with its quota of fighting men. This figure is one third of the male, or one sixth of the total population. cf. Rihani, 1928, pp. 118-119
2. Afif I Tannous, 1951, p. 15

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IRAQ

648 unlimited powers abused more often than not, the process of seden-
X166 tarization took its course.

423 After the First World War very little of the tribal land was still communally held, its ownership having been claimed by individuals.[1] Land settlement in Iraq had resulted in the transfer of the tribal semi-collective landholdings to individual holdings of the sheikhs. This increased the inequality of land-ownership in favor of the leaders and at the expense of the members of the tribe.[2]

622 Since the early 1920's some of the Iraqi sheikhs have dis-
423 played a growing interest in settlement of their tribesmen. The
X166 Sheikhs Ali al-Sulaiman and Mushin al-Hardan were largely responsible for the restoration on scientific lines of the Saqlawiyah canal and thus making possible the Dulaym development project which provided for the settlement of 2 000 tribesmen.[3]

X166 The new settlement of Dulaymiya developed rapidly and proved
425 a sucess. An area which had been barren for centuries was re-
622 claimed and returned to cultivation. During the inter-war years the Iraqi local government distributed State land to individuals prepared to irrigate and cultivate it by installation of water pumps. Due to the cost involved, only the wealthy sheikhs could take advantage of the offer.

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1. Report, 1928, pp. 152-153
2. Himadeh, 1950; Himadeh, 1951, p. 275
3. Report, 1920-22, p. 20

IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4

Their already substantial landholdings were thus considerably increased. 423 622

Neither the British Mandatory Authorities nor the Iraqi local government had in the 1920's a definite tribal settlement policy. 648 166X Whatever was undertaken in this direction like the Dulaymiya project is attributable to the initiative of the tribal leaders.

The transformation which the tribal sheikhs have been undergoing during the past few decades can be best illustrated by a concrete case. Ajil el Jawer, the chief sheikh of the Shammar, had by the 1930's a variety of lucrative commercial interests. The government of Iraq and the Oil Companies appointed him to take over the protection of the wells and the pipelines. Besides, Ajil was charged with supplying laborers for railroad construction work. From these sources he received considerable income. The main part of his wealth, however, consists of real estate. Ajil inherited the lands near Kalat Shergat and Takrit which Sultan Abdul Hamid had given to his grandfather Farhan as presents. In addition he acquired lands in the vicinity of Tell A'far, and also owns property in Baghdad and Mosul, as well as houses in Tell A'far and in the village Kalat Shergat.[1] 622 425

The case of Ajil el Jawer is typical for all the powerful chiefs of Iraq, who have become wealthy landlords whose estates are cultivated by fellahin. Where the tribesmen followed the examples of of their sheikhs and settled down, they became the exploited tenants

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, pp. 150 seq.

1/1 [i.e., the wealthy sheikhs -- ANALYST]

622 and share-croppers on the holdings of the chiefs who rapidly
425 changed from their traditional role of "primus inter pares" to that of a semi-feudal landlord.

656 In the thirties the administration of Iraq became increasingly
425 aware of the plight of the Bedouin. In 1934 three committees con-
X166 sisting of high government officials and tribal sheikhs were formed for the purpose of studying the problem of land distribution among the tribesmen and of encouraging them to take up agriculture.

A plan was formulated with the aim of settling 40 000 Bedouin over a period of ten years, at the rate of 4 000 per annum.[1] Guided by the administration policy of Bedouin settlement, the Minister of the Interior proceeded in 1936 with the assignment of land to the nomadic tribes and landless fellahin. Distribution was made in small plots of about five acres per head. Provision was also made for financial assistance needed to initiate cultivation. Prospective settlers, in turn, were subject to the stipulation that their villages and houses must be constructed along modern lines.[2]

At the end of 1936 Prime Minister Hikmat Sulaiman declared in the outline of his government program that the authorities are vitally concerned with the settlement of the tribes and ready to provide each family with land. He stated that legislation would

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1. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XIV, pp. 483-4 1934
2. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XVI, p. 279 1936

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also be effected to improve lines of communication, so that the nomads may be able to benefit from public services.[1] 656 425 166x

Since the end of the Second World War the government of Iraq has begun to put into practice the policy of encouraging small landownership by distributing State Domain lands among landless peasants and tribesmen. The first post-war project was started in 1945 on the Dujaylah lands, south of Baghdad, where 88 000 acres of state land were parcelled out in plots of about 62.5 acres per family. The new settlement which started in 1945 with 85 fmdlies has presently about 1 200. The settlers come from neighboring tribes where they and their kin had worked as share-croppers on the estates of the sheikhs.[2] In 1946 another project, the Mendiyah settlement, was completed. It involved the distribution of approximately 200 000 acres of irrigated state land among the members of the Ubayd tribe.[3]

The observation has been made that the inequality of land-ownership had a great effect on many of the tribesmen and in the absence of sufficient agricultural projects they began to flock to the cities.[4] Progressive circles in Iraq have realised for a number of years that settling the nomads must go hand in hand with the creation of suitable land conditions.

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1. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XVII, pp. 41-42, 1937
2. Burns, 1951, p. 362
3. Tannous, 1952, p. 16
4. Khayat, 1950, pp. 225-226

SYRIA
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656 The idea of land reform aiming at the encouragement of small
425 and medium land-holdings and settlement of the nomads as well as
166 landless peasants on small plots has been very popular since the end of the Second World War. In 1945 the Parliament of Iraq passed a bill (Law #23) authorizing the government to distribute State Domain land (over 80 per cent of the now uncultivated land in Iraq)[1] among fellahin and tribesmen on the basis of small private ownership. This law has made possible the successful Dujaylah land settlement project. In 1950 the Law #23 of 1945, originally restricted to a limited region, was made applicable to additional areas in all parts of the country.[2]

Recent planning may bring about a controlled agrarian revolution by creating a class of small farmers on 25 - 35 per cent of Iraq's cultivable land.[3]

Syria

166 Throughout the latter part of the 19th and the beginning
656 of the 20th century encouragement of Bedouin settlement in Syria was an integral part of the tribal policy of the Ottoman government.

The authorities did not make any constructive effort to effect sedentarization of the tribesmen although transition to

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1. Burns, 1951, p. 362
2. For detailed discussion of the settlement projects in Iraq see: Burns, 1951, pp. 362 - 66
3. New York Times, November 4, 1950

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agriculture was taking place on a small scale. During the latter part of the century the Wald Ali tribe began to take up cultivation near Homs and the Hesene in the Hauran.[1] 166 656

The leaders of the Syrian tribes, however, particularly the Anezeh and West Shammar sheikhs, benefited from Sultan Abdul Hamid's policy aiming at winning their support by gifts of land and villages. In 1870 Jed'an of the Fed'an obtained from the government several villages and large tracts of land.[2] Mejhem, the grandson of Jed'an, owns two villages on the Euphrates besides the property which he inherited from his grandfather. In the 1930's he acquired additional ground near 'Ain 'Isa where he built a house.[3] Nuri al-Sha'lan, the sheikh of the Rwala, owned substantial property consisting of vast estates, a house in Damascus and several motor-cars.[4] 622 425 656

Since the end of the First World War, all the important tribal leaders of Syria have been in possession of extensive land-holdings, and most of them have taken an increasing interest in cultivation. In 1928 Sheikh Selemieh of the Sba'a Gmeesa undertook to restore an ancient system of canals and began tillage on land which had been heretofore desert.[5] In 1935 the sheikh of the Sba'a Btainat doubled his cultivation in 622 423 241

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 73
2. ibid., p. 79
3. ibid., p. 81
4. ibid., pp. 105 seq.
5. Report, 1935, p. 106

SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

361 241 X166 178 X166 178 years. There was not much of a response to the efforts of the government during 1934 and 1935 to encourage settlement on land.

Where sedenterization took place it was the social process of assimilation, stimulated by economic, social and political factors. Where societies meet, the phenomenon of assimilation is inevitable; one section of the social group may be more rapidly affected than the other, but even if no extraordinary conditions arise, the evolutionary process of assimilation and subsequent sedenterization will take its course and ultimately embrace all strata of society.

361 X166 Tribal leadership spearheaded the movement towards sedenterization which by 1935 was sufficiently advanced among the tribal groups of the Aleppo-Homs-Hama region for 14 tribes representing 3 500 tents or 15 000 individuals to be placed by the authorities under a regime of ordinary administration.[1)]

423 ● 425 X166 For those nomads who are at present ready to settle down, the greatest problem is that of land-tenure. Bedouin tribes as a whole have more land at their disposal than they can possibly exploit by agricultural cultivation. The area inhabited by the nomads is not less than 10 693 000 hectares.[2)] However, when the tribesmen are willing to take up agriculture, they find that all the tribal land has become the private property of the sheikhs.

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1. Rapport, 1936, pp. 26-27
2. Salem, 1950 p. 355

In 1949, Amir Sha'lan, the chief of the Ruala, went on record 425 with the statement that all his tribesmen now wanted land because 166x the declining desert economy made settlement inevitable,[1] and recommended to parcel out the newly developed land to the tribesmen in individual holdings instead of allowing it to become the private property of the sheikhs as this was the case in Iraq. Actually, however, there has been in Syria as heavy a concentration of tribal land in the hands of the leaders as in Iraq. The change of tribal society in Syria may lag behind the development in Iraq, but the process of conversion from communally held tribal land to individual property seems to assume the same patterns, the sheikh emerging as the large landlord and the tribesmen as his exploited tenants and share-croppers.

In recent years wealthy families, city notables, leased from 427 the sheikhs large areas of tribal land in the Jezirah and put them under cultivation of grain[2] and cotton.[3]

Land reform has become a major domestic issue in Syria in 423

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1. New York Times, September 6, 1949
   It must be understood that the declaration was made for political reasons. The issue was the admission and settlement of Arab refugees from Palestine on newly developed land in Syria, a plan to which Sha'lan violently objected on the ground that the tribesmen needed the land for settlement. The tribes have moreland than they can cultivate and, as far as the Ruala are concerned, they belong to the purest of the remaining camel-Bedouin and are not yet ready for agricultural life. Rasmen states (1930, p. 497) that the Ruala would resist any attempt to settle them, many preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to Central Arabia than adopt the life of settlers.
2. Tannous, 1951, p. 11
3. New York Times, August 13, 1951

ISRAEL BEDOUINS MJ4

361 "The sixteen tribes recognised as bona fide residents of
X166 Israel have all been counted and are now given identity cards. They are being assisted in ploughing and breeding cattle — three tractors have been recently allotted to them by the Department of Agriculture, and Bedouins have already learned to drive them — as the beginning of a long term scheme to convert these tribesmen from a nomadic way of life to that of settled cultivators or fellahin. Migration of Bedouins, for centuries the scourge of the country, is being stopped, and the tribes are being settled in certain definite areas." 1)

X166 Of course, not all the Bedouin of the Negev are ready to settle down permanently. In the summer of 1950 a number of tribes crossed voluntarily into Jordan because their pastures in the Negev had shrunk to the point of inadequacy on account of a serious drought. Under an agreement of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Commission the Bedouin were granted the permission to re-enter Israeli territory (not later than July 1951); none of them, however, returned, preferring to stay in Jordan where they could continue their nomadic mode of living. 2)

361 425 Practically all the remaining nomads of Israel are by now settled down to a regular agricultural and pastoral existence.

Early in 1951 the Ministry of Agriculture allocated to the Bedouin I L 20 000 for the ploughing of about 50 000 dunams of uncultivated land in the Negev, because the Government of Israel was aware of the difficulties which confronted the tribes whose winter crops had been destroyed by the severe drought. 3)

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1. Lourie, Palestine Post, November 24, 1949
2. The Jewish Agency's Digest, 1951 b, p. 1734
3. The Jewish Agency's Digest, 1951 a, p. 1071

BEDOUINS M.I.
JORDAN

174 their nomadic life in the desert, raising camels, sheep and goats.

The first to become interested in agriculture was Sheikh Sattan ibn Fais. Although he personally remained a wandering nomad with his Beni Sakhr tribesmen, he attended to the supervision of his estates at Umm el-'Amad, north east of Madabah.

361 Pere Jaussen reported in 1908[1] that already at that time
241 small tribes[2] of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Belqa and northern Moab were engaged in agricultural work.

423 Most of the cultivable tracts of the tribal land had already
425 prior to the First World War become the private property of the sheikhs who acquired those lands simply by occupying them[3] as they belonged to nobody. Another method of increasing land-holdings was by encroachment on adjacent fields and putting them under cultivation. By this latter system a large territory, originally belonging to the Adwan, was acquired by Sheikh Sattan and his sons.[4] After World War I many sheikhs purchased Giftlik land[5] from the government on favorable terms.

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1. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 237-8 and pp. 240-55
2. All the tribes of Transjordan are small when compared with the powerful Iraqi and Syrian tribes such as the Ruala (4 250 tents) or the Sba'a (3 400 tents) cf. Fisher, 1950, p. 116. The Beni Sakhr, the largest tribe of Transjordan, has about 1 140 tents.
3. They set foot on a certain terrain, belonging to nobody (ارض سبسبة) and declared it personal property (ارض سبيخة) by virtue of occupation.
4. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 136-7
5. Giftlik is the land which had belonged to the Turkish Sultan and became government property after World War I.

JORDAN BEDOUINS MJ4

The Mandatory Report of 1929 stated[1] that there was a marked tendency among the nomads of Transjordan to settle, especially among the Beni Sakhr who owned a considerable area of land.[2] The same document points out, however, that the tribesmen are not yet engaged in cultivation, but employ fellahin to till the soil for them. A. Konikoff who published a study of the Transjordan economy about fifteen years after the above quoted report has nothing new to add[3] implying that no material change has taken place. 166x 427

In spite of substantial land-holdings, most members of the Beni Sakhr seem not yet psychologically prepared to settle down. 166x 241 425

The case of the Howeitat, the second most powerful tribe of Transjordan,[4] is different. Unlike the majority of the Bedouin the Howeitat do not show the traditional contempt for agriculture.[5] They cultivate all the fertile land in their tribal area. The agricultural activities of the Howeitat increased considerably when they acquired the Sher'ah plain from the Ho'aimat tribe during the latter part of the 19th century. The tribesmen practiced a mixed economy consisting of tillage and livestock-BREEDING.

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1. Report, 1929 b, p. 138
2. They possess about 24 villages, whose land is tilled by fellahin and tenants (cf. Epstein, 1938, p. 233). The tribe is scattered from the hills of Balqa to Wadi Shirhan and from Amman to Madabah.
3. Konikoff, 1946, p. 50
4. The Howeitat have about 1 000 tents and dwell in the Ma'an and Aqaba region.
5. The Howeitat did not originally come from the Hejaz or the Nejd. It is alleged that the tribe has always been connected with the Transjordan territory. One theory suggests that the Howeitat are the descendents of ancient Nabateans, another considers them the offspring of camel merchants from the Red Sea coast and fellahin from Ma'an and Shenah who in the course of time became Bedouin. (cf. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 29)

coming in from the desert and moving northward, can be observed in the geographic distribution of the population of Transjordan. The Southern Ma'an district and the parts east of the Hejaz railway are the domains of the Bedouin. Southern Balqa and the entire Karak district are inhabited by semi-nomads, already settled on the land, but still living in tents and retaining their tribal organization. In Ajloun and the northern part of Balqa the settled villager predominates. 178 166x 131 166x

b. external factors and planned change 166x

Bedouin settlement on land considerably progressed under the impact of:

a. development of the area with subsequent limitation of pasture lands

b. the measures of the governments

c. the examples of the sheikhs and their attempts to settle the tribesmen

CHAPTER X

Tribal Land and the Role of the Sheikh in Bedouin Settlement Since the 19th Century 421 425

With the introduction of the Land Registration Law of 1859, most of the tribal land in the Ottoman Empire became the property of the sheikhs.

The individual tribesmen as well as the settled villagers

421 considered the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and the Registration
425 Law of 1859 as governmental measures designed for purposes of taxation and military conscription. They left it to the village notables and tribal sheikhs to enter all the land in their names. During the second part of the 19th century the large landholdings of the powerful sheikhs were substantially increased as the result of the Sultan's policy to win their co-operation by gifts of land. The developments during the 19th century thus laid the foundations for the inequality of land-ownership which has become the scourge of the Middle Eastern agrarian society.

421 As long as the patriarchal social order was maintained, the
425 economic life of the tribe was not disturbed by the growing con-
427 centration of land in the hands of the sheikhs. Part of the land
566 was cultivated by slaves or fellahin tenants, the rest used by the tribesmen as grazing areas for their flocks of animals. But when the tribal leaders began to evince an ever increasing interest in agriculture, the semi-legal transfer of land, formerly the collective property of the tribe, to the private ownership of the sheikhs had the effect that the "primus inter pares" within the democratic tribal society emerged as the big semi-feudal landlord.

421 The Mandatory authorities further strengthened the power of
566 the landlords by legal recognition of their rights in the lands which they claimed as their own.

421 Progressive circles in the Arab countries are in favor of

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BCI Reliable Files:
BEDOUINS MJ4
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members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1]

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Kishk that owned 20 000 dunums of land in the Sharon.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunums to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunum orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

CHAPTER II

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlement

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1946/47 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

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1. Himadeh, 1930, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted for sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 45%, camels — 5%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1949, p. 10

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

231 counts. She is kept to breed with, and bring money to the tent, in the same way as a good she-camel.

More important still, a mare is looked upon as adorning a man's tent, like a woman or child, for to the Badawin "A house without a child in it is like a room in darkness". No mare will be kept unless she can be traced back to a thoroughbred stock—but even so, her value will be great or small according as she bears certain marks on her body (see below). For example, a man may breed a filly from his thoroughbred mare, which may have one white leg and three black or bay ones—this will make her unlucky and the filly will always be unwanted.

DIFFICULTY OF BUYING ARAB MARES

231 425 422 It is normally very difficult for a European to buy a thoroughbred mare, and the only way he can acquire one without great delay and expense is as a present from a great prince or shaikh, who owns mares in his own right. Even then, he is rarely given a first-class animal.

The reason for this is that no ordinary tribesman owns the whole of his mare, so he cannot sell her outright. He perhaps owns a leg, two legs, or three legs only and can only sell his part-right. At these sales conditions are also carefully laid down as to who shall have the first foal, the second filly, and so on.

As a rule half a dozen persons own, or have a share in each mare, and the joint-owners often live at great distance from each other, hence the difficulty in purchasing even a fairly ordinary mare—while to buy a thoroughbred is practically impossible for a foreigner.

It is amusing and rather disconcerting for a European who sees a good mare in the desert and wants to buy it to be told by the owner that he is quite willing to sell the animal's off-fore, but that the would-be purchaser must go to So-and-So, and So-and-So, living perhaps 100 miles away, if he wants to buy the other three legs. It is still more discouraging to be told that even if you can square each of these parties after prolonged negotiations, that So-and-So living 300 miles away at, say Buraida, has a lien on the first filly, so must be asked if he will agree to the sale. Lastly that the Buraida man may be expected to give a definite "No", seeing that if the mare goes out of the country he will in all probability see no filly.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XXXIII

Camel Disputes

In the Arab States of Arabia proper, the rights of an individual over his camel are looked upon as more sacred perhaps than life itself. It is possible that there may be slight differences in custom and details in various parts of Arabia, but speaking generally, the rules given below will be found to be understood and prevail in most of North-Eastern and Central Arabia. I cannot speak for Oman, Yaman and the Hijaz, but I see no reason to suppose that the basic principles of all desert camel laws are not the same. 421

After dealing with the important custom of *'Arafa*, I have touched on and given the meaning, as briefly as I can, of the Badawin terms *Jahámah*, *'Iblásah*, *Tirâhah*, *Khidmah*, *Zakát*, *Khâwah* and *Dhabîhah wa Manîhah*, all terms regularly heard in the desert man's daily life. I must express my thanks to His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait and his able Lieutenant Shaikh 'Abdullah al Jabir who is responsible for Kuwait tribal affairs, for the great assistance they have given by helping me to collect the data necessary for this chapter.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I. *The case of camels belonging to individuals or tribes, straying with friendly tribes.* 421 628 425 681

(*a*) If one or more camels stray from a tribal herd and are later found with a friendly tribe, the owners can send in a demand for their return to the shaikh of the friendly tribe in question. Providing there is no undue delay, restitution is made and the matter ends.

(*b*) Should the strayed camel or camels not be restored, the owners have the right to watch their opportunity and seize property, livestock or even men belonging to the offending tribe, and

4 Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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421 628 425 681

retain such in their possession until their own plundered property is surrendered.

(c) Should the offending tribe still be obstinate (*a'asin*) and not return the camels, then the complainants have the right to hold what they have seized and must be satisfied with this. It is presumed that they have seized and held a number of camels equal to the number lost, neither more nor less.

II. *The case of camels straying away to a hostile tribe.*

The owner of the camel awaits his opportunity, and has the right to seize his enemy's camels and as many as he likes besides, by raid (*ghaṛṛu*) or other stratagem, on the grazing grounds of the desert, in the summer or spring months, or on the caravan routes when his enemy visits a town or settlement to purchase supplies.

The injured party (owner of original stolen camels) retains what he has thus acquired from the enemy as a right, or he can make conditions with the enemy as he pleases. He can also if he likes cry "quits" entirely, provided everything is restored which he lost in the first place. Should blood be shed on such raids, the rule of the desert permits of revenge during five lives, that is to say, the party from whom a life has been taken, is entitled to kill a member of the slayer's family or tribe, down to the fifth generation, unless of course the family of the slain man agrees to accept *'idiyah* or *diya* (blood-money), which is generally computed in Najd and Kuwait to-day at Rials 800 (see Chapter XLII).

III. *The case of a tribe or tribes belonging to a recognised Government, raiding camels of tribes belonging to another Government.*

The Government of the raided tribe has the legal right to claim the stolen property back from the Government of the guilty tribe or to claim money compensation. The compensation is assessed by mutual agreement. Should the guilty tribe, however, refuse to obey the order of its own Government, and it becomes impossible to recover the property stolen, then the injured tribe has the right

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to recover its lost property in its own time, and by whatever means it deems fit to employ. 421 628 425 681

IV. *The case of stolen or lost camels, recognised in a town or settlement by their original owners. (Both parties for example having come up to purchase supplies.)* 421 628 369 425 681 694

If the two parties are members of tribes which are friendly and on good terms with each other, and if their respective tribes are on good terms with, and under the authority of, the Ruler or Governor of the town in question, then the claimant must produce three witnesses to testify that the property he claims is his own. The words he himself uses to prove his claim before the authority hearing the case are, "I affirm that I neither sold nor gave away this my camel". Having completed this formality, the claimant will receive back his camel by order of the Ruler or Governor of the said town. (This sort of case frequently arises in Kuwait and towns in Najd.)

In the event of the person in possession of the camel having bought it from a third party unaware that it was the lawful property of a member of a friendly tribe, the procedure is different (see below). Again, if the person in possession of the camel has obtained it in war from a third party, the claimant will only receive it back if the custom of *'arafa* exists between his tribe and that of the person with whom the camel is found (see below).

V. *The case of a tribe of one Government attacking a tribe of another Government and a battle resulting.* 421 628

The attacked tribe has the right to ask its Government to demand and recover full blood-money for its killed and injured from the Government of the guilty party. Should the complainant's Government not be in a position to exact reparation or come to an agreement with the aggressor's Government, either as to the blood-money due or to the terms of peace acceptable to the injured tribe, then the families of the victims have the right to take revenge in their own time and way, without being responsible to their Government in any respect. (V is similar to III.) 425 681

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THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA
OR
"RECOGNITION" OF ANIMALS BY THE OWNER

421 628 619 425 I. *The case of camels captured in a raid.*

Should two tribes *asta'araf* to one another (have made the special *'arafa* agreement between them), then one party may take from the other, camels once belonging to the former and now recovered from an enemy in raid, etc., by the latter.

Thus if a number of camels have been captured from the 'Ajman by the 'Awazim, and on some later occasion are recovered by the Mutair, the 'Ajman would have the right to take back their camels on application to the Mutair, without compensation, *provided the custom of* 'Arafa *existed between the 'Ajman and the Mutair.*

421 619 671 425 II. *The case of camels bought from one person by another and later recognised by a former owner as having been stolen from him.*

The case is settled in this wise. If the purchaser and the original owner are of the same tribe, or belong to two tribes with a "special agreement" by which their relations are those of *Bani 'Am*, then the purchaser and the original owner, together with the animal in dispute, have to approach the seller and from him recover the purchase money. They give this to the man who has bought the camel, and the orignal owner takes back his property. For example, a man of Shammar recognises a stolen camel of his with a man of the Dhafir, and the latter states he purchased it from the Mutair. Should the Dhafir and Shammar have a *Bani 'Am* arrangement between them, the men will both go and see the Mutairi. If the Mutairi had himself raided or stolen the camel from the Shammari, and the Mutair and the Shammar were at peace, he will return the purchase price to the Dhafiri, and the Shammari may then take the camel he claims. If the Mutairi has himself bought the camel from another, say an 'Ajmi, he will still pay back the price to the Dhafiri and will then go and claim his money from the 'Ajmi, and so on till they get back to the original thief. In other words, all intervening sales and purchases are step by step undone.

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This method of friendly recovery of a man's camel is known as the *Sauq wa Qaud* system, a sort of family arrangement for the recovery of animals by mutual consent and without quarrelling over the matter. This system has the advantage of keeping Government officials out of the business, which from the Badawin point of view is always desirable. It is commonly practised in areas where Government writ does not run, and where one tribe is paramount under a strong shaikh who can enforce his will (example, the southern desert area of Iraq in Turkish times).

The system is open to variation according to circumstances, also to special arrangements between tribes, etc. So-called desert law is rarely a hard-and-fast thing. Many are the arbitrators who vary it slightly, or try to arrange a compromise in difficult or protracted cases. In most cases, however, precedent has a great deal to do with settling difficult problems, and so we have the *Ahl al khibrah* or experts, versed in legal precedent and able to state how difficult cases were formerly settled. These wiseacres have much to do with the interpretation of desert law. Nevertheless the two main principles of *'arafa* remain fixed:

(*a*) A camel taken in war or retaken in war by a friend of the original owner is surrendered without compensation, if the custom of *'arafa* exists. There is no selling.

(*b*) No camel bought for money can possibly be taken back by the original owner without compensation, even if the original owner be of the same tribe as the purchaser. There is only one exception, namely, if the original owner can prove that the buyer when he purchased the animal *was aware that it had been stolen* from a man of a friendly tribe. Thus if the 'Awazim bought Diyahin raided camels from Ibn Shuqair the day after his raid on the Diyahin near Kuwait in 1928, the latter could recover their camels from the 'Awazim without compensation. In no other case can anyone retake a purchased animal and leave the purchaser a loser. All sales must be undone, back to the original theft.

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THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA ON THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN TWO STATES

425 The application of the *'arafa* law becomes somewhat less easy when
648 two tribes which are perhaps hostile to each other, or belong to differ-
619 ent states adjoining one another, are involved, or where strong Governments are functioning, as to-day in the case in Kuwait, Sa'udi Arabia and Iraq, and where border officials are interested in seeing that shaikhs and individual members of tribes in their areas do not raid, steal or take the law into their own hands, especially across the border.

In such cases, while the custom of *'arafa* is quite well understood, it is essential that a controlling authority enforce the rules of the game, otherwise nothing is done. The Shaikh of Kuwait put it in a nutshell, when he told me that the law of *'arafa* was a most excellent law for settling Badawin disputes, and it dated back to very ancient times, but unless Rulers or Governments were strong enough to enforce it within or across their borders it became quite useless, for then as always the strongest won the day. A Badawin, for instance, in the case mentioned below, would never hand over the camel he had purchased unless he was made to do so by his Government acting through its officials on the spot.

425 "A", a subject of some state, finds a camel which has been stolen
[694] from him in the past, grazing in the desert with "B's" camels (a sub-
695 ject of another state). "A's" and "B's" tribes are not on friendly terms.
696 "A" does not waste his time in going and demanding it from "B", who quite naturally will refuse to give it up until made to do so. He goes instead to the nearest *Hákim* or Government representative in the particular area "B" is in, armed with a letter from his own frontier officer. (To-day in North-East Arabia it is Hamud al Baga'awi for Sa'udi Arabia, 'Abdullah bin Jabir for Kuwait, and the Iraqi Officer in Charge Southern Desert Police for Iraq), and will say that "B" has in his possession a certain camel which has been stolen from him, "A". The officer in charge of the area in question will send for "B" and in his presence will ask "A" to prove his claim. Here is where the Shari'a law comes in as practised in the desert. "A" can

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prove his claim in two ways, (*a*) either by producing two witnesses who will corroborate his testimony that the camel was his property, and that he had neither sold nor given it away, or (*b*) "A" can produce one witness who must declare *on oath* that the camel belongs to "A" and that it was neither sold nor given away by him.

"B" can also if he likes insist that "A" states the same thing on oath, but this is not actually necessary, according to the law.

One or other of these courses having been followed, the Government officer in charge of the area in question does not even ask how "B" got the camel, but on the above evidence must order "B" to hand over the animal at once.

If "B" has stolen the camel himself, he will of course gladly hand over and hope "A" will not bring further witness proving that he stole it.

If, however, "B" has innocently bought the camel from say "C", then he can be counted upon to shout this fact from the housetops (this in spite of the fact that a rather dead order exists both in Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait to-day, which forbids a man buying a camel till the seller can satisfactorily prove that it has not been stolen). The officer dealing with the case will then proceed as follows: He must ask who the seller "C" was and where he can be found. When "B" has told him, "C" will be summoned, and in the presence of "C" "B" will have to produce two witnesses to testify that he bought the camel from "C" (or one witness to take oath). When "B" has done this to the satisfaction of the officer, the latter makes "C" pay the purchase money back to "B". If "C" claims to have bought the camel from "D", the officer will adopt the same procedure, working backwards till the original thief is found, who then is suitably punished.

The above method of settlement becomes somewhat more complicated if individuals concerned are subjects of different states. For instance, should "A" be a Kuwaiti, "B" be an Iraqi and "C" a Najdi, the procedure is the same, only three *Hákims* or frontier officers have to be brought in. For instance, "A" will go to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who will send him armed with a letter (usually also with a letter from the Political Agent) to the Inspecting Officer or Com-

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4
Time Limit Saudi Arabia MJ1

B 425 648 694 695 641 mandant of Police Southern Desert area where "B" resides. That official will take action on the letter, and if proofs are clear will hand back the camel to "A". He will then send "B" with a letter direct to al Baga'awi, or such other Najd official as may be in charge of Sa'udi Arabian frontier affairs opposite Iraq and Kuwait, together with "B's" witnesses. Al Baga'awi will then get "B's" rights from "C" and so on. In conclusion, the easy working of the *'arafa* system along a frontier obviously depends on four things:

(*a*) that friendly relations exist between the Governments involved;

[B 693] (*b*) that officers are placed in charge of frontier areas, and that their writ goes;

(*c*) that such local officials are empowered to deal direct with each other without having to refer to higher authority: this especially applies to smaller claims of tribesmen on both sides of the border. (Important cases would of course be referred to Central Governments.)

(*d*) That the Shari'a law, recognised by the Badawin of the desert, and not any form of civil code, be applied in deciding *'arafa* questions, especially where oaths are concerned.

SA. 648 425 K 648 425 Between 1929 and 1930 Captain Glubb, R.E., at one time in charge of the Iraq Southern Desert area, and I in my capacity of Political Agent, Kuwait, frequently dealt direct with each other in questions of claims between Iraq and Kuwait tribesmen, and we settled many cases on the above lines, everyone being satisfied and accepting settlement cheerfully. During the same period matters were not so easy where Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia tribes were concerned, because (*a*) relations unfortunately were not good, and (*b*) no official of officer status existed across the border who could be addressed on the subject with prospect of reasonable success. Later, however, His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud remedied the matter by appointing strong frontier representatives, with headquarters at Hafar and Jariyah Ilya respectively, and matters greatly improved.

In February 1931 His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud proposed to the Shaikh of Kuwait that all camel claims affecting both states which went back prior to February 1931 should be declared *madfún* ("buried") because an enormous number had accumulated as a result of the

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'Ikhwan rebellion, and it was impossible to deal with them. The proposal being eminently sensible, Ibn Subah fell in with it.

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THE MEANING OF THE BADAWIN TERMS JAHÁMAH, IBLÁSAH, TIRÁHAH, KHIDMAH

(1) Should the tribes have a "peace agreement", and a man of the one tribe happen to lose some camels and later find them with a man of the other tribe, the original owner has the right to recover his camels without any compensation, but only provided the camels are followed up without delay. The term given to camels which have so wandered is *jahámah*.

Should a man from one of the two friendly tribes discover and care for some camels which have wandered as *jahámah*, and there is delay on the part of the owner in looking for and recovering his camels, then the finder who is looking after them can later recover Rials 2 per camel from the owner, provided he informs his shaikh of the circumstances at the time and gets an assurance from him that the shaikh will see that he gets this money. The shaikh for his part will give orders to the finder as to the proper care of the strayed camels, and tell him to treat them as his own, etc.

(2) A man of one or other of the two friendly tribes may find camels wandering as *jahámah*, and deliberately hide them from their owner. If in spite of this they are later discovered by an *'iblásah* (i.e. a man hired by the owner to spy out neighbouring camel herds, and discover where the lost camels are), the property must be restored in full to the owner, and the fee of the *'iblásah* will be recovered from the person concealing the animals. This fee may amount to anything up to Rials 20, a big sum to the Badawin.

(3) A man's camels may take fright and bolt into the desert. If they are caught and brought in by a man of a friendly tribe, and handed over to the owner, then the owner must pay Rials 2 for each camel as reward to the person who caught them. This fee is called *tirdhah*.

(4) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels

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Restitution of Stolen Camels

(4) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels arises between two tribes, and the two sides are unable to agree on terms of settlement, then the matter will normally be referred to the Ruler of the country or local Governor, as the case may be. When the matter is finally settled, *khidmah* (or "service fee") will be recovered from the party judged to be at fault. This *khidmah* fee, which may run into a number of Riais, is paid over to the Ruler's *fidáwis* or retainers, who have had the labour of collecting evidence and finding witnesses.

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BADAWIN CUSTOM OF WASÁQAH (OR WASÁGA) BETWEEN BANI 'ÁM

Among Badawin who are in *Bani 'Ám* relationship with one another, if camels are stolen from one party by another the same number of camels only as those stolen in the first place must be returned, never more. And war may never arise between them from such exchange of property. Restitution is normally arranged through the mediation of relatives or the heads of clans.

The arrangement of restitution is known as *wasáqah* (*waságna-hum*—"we arranged restitution").

It would be quite a different matter if members of a strange tribe or people, who were not *Bani 'Ám*, stole the camels. Then the robbed person (or persons) can rightfully take as many camels as he can lay hands on from those who stole from him, and if no redress is obtained, the case may result in war between the tribes.

[615] Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah of Kuwait told me on 8th October, 1938, that among *Bani 'Ám* if a person for the sake of gain told tales against his tribe, or reported that a member of his tribe had stolen camels from another tribe, the penalty was that "he should be killed by lance thrust"; this was a very ancient Badawin law.

ZAKÁT TAX

651 The tax known as *Zakát* has religious sanction, and payment is one of the five duties incumbent on every true Muslim. The word means "purification" and is applied to the legal alms that an individual has to give to the religious tax-gatherers of the state each year;

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Murtafiq

grazing. It sends men ahead and offers (*a*) *kwdhah* and (*b*) *dhabthah wa manthah*.

The former insures that the Shaikh of Kuwait will, if necessary, fight all comers in their defence; the latter is a promise that if Kuwait is attacked by outsiders, the shepherd tribes in his territory will faithfully serve and fight for him, whilst they are grazing in Kuwait territory. The payment of *dhabthah wa manthah* is a graceful way of saying "I am your servant to order, so long as I am in your country". Half a dozen young sheep is the usual amount offered. As often as not the gift is accepted and remitted by the big man—*Qabaltu wa rajd'dt'u*, or, I have accepted your gift and hereby return it again to you. The present Shaikh of Kuwait has for some years ceased to demand either tax.

PROPERTY LOST IN THE DESERT

Alois Musil, in his book, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, gives a striking and accurate picture of what happens in the desert when a nomad loses part of his tent equipage, a camel or a mare when on the march. I cannot do better than recommend my readers to study what he has to say about it.

Under the desert code it is not, of course, considered a dishonest act to pick up and conceal an article which has been lost or dropped by another person. The finder is not required to go out of his way to seek the owner of the article; on the contrary, it is up to the owner to find his own lost property. This applies to all articles of camp gear, male and female attire, bags of food, strayed camels, horses, sheep, etc.

Should the finder really fear God (*khaf Allah*) he will probably tell his shaikh, or let it be known generally whilst he is on the march that he has found such and such an article, obviously dropped by someone, but he need not necessarily do so. Only when the owner publicly notifies his loss is the finder required to act. He must then and there hand back the goods if he is to escape the charge of being a thief. If the lost or strayed thing be a camel, mare or sheep, he will get a small reward in return. This is his *haq* or right.

When Badawin are on the march with their families, and especially

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when the tribe as a whole is migrating, rugs, garments and articles of tent gear are frequently dropped: this is especially the case at night, when camels laden with tents bump against each other or suddenly start trotting. On such occasions anything may fall and its loss will not be noticed till after the next camp has been reached. The person who picks up such dropped articles can, without much difficulty, hide them and appropriate them later to his or her own use. For whether such articles belong to the tent or consist of men's or women's clothing, they bear such a similarity to what every one else uses that no one will ever be able to prove previous ownership. The following is the procedure open to a man who finds he has lost something he values. When evening falls and the migrating nomads have camped for the night, the owner of the lost goods will mount his camel and ride slowly through the camp. As he does so, he will call out in a loud sing-song voice that he has lost so and so that day, and will adjure any person who has found the missing article to restore it on pain of angering Allah. Should a man who knows something of the lost article hear the shouting—and it is astonishing how many will respond to this appeal to God—he will come out of his tent and say, "Come here and take away thy thing" (*Ta'aal khud gharádhak*) or "Thou owner of the goods, come hither" (*Ya rai al gharadh, elhak, elhak*). The person advertising his loss often uses most picturesque language to persuade his fellow Badawin to disclose who has got the lost article in his possession.

When I was camped with Bin Sa'ud at Khabari Wadha in the winter of 1930, I vividly remember hearing the long-drawn-out plaintive cry of a man, advertising the loss of an *'abba* which he had dropped on the march. He kept riding backwards and forwards through the serried lines of tents after dark, and every minute or two shouted out words which roughly reproduced were as follows: "Has any one of the Muslims seen such and such a thing, or received news of it, or known anything of it? If he has, let him remember God and not conceal it," and again "O thou Muslim who hast seen and picked up such and such a thing, and dost fear Allah, disclose what thou hast concealed," and again, "O thou who hopest to keep quiet about a thing of little value, take heed lest in the hour of thy need God himself will keep quiet about thee." At last after about half an hour of such crying,

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425 came the distant shout of "*Ta'al ta'al ya Muslim khud 'abbatak*". I knew then that the owner had been lucky and got back his property.

Ibn Juma'a, the King's henchman—*Muthaiafchi*—who was sitting with me and my old friend Farhan al Rahama round one of the camp fires, amused me by remarking that it was surprising how often men recovered lost goods in this way, and that it proved how honest and God-fearing was the King's army.

425 685 So high is the Badawin code in such matters, that were the person who had the lost property to conceal it and afterwards to be found out, he would get short shrift from his fellow tribesmen. They would revile and beat him publicly, and make things so unpleasant for him that he would find it profitable to leave his fellows for a season.

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CHAPTER XLIV

Curious Customs and Stories

MAD DOG BITE

752 826 If a person is bitten by a dog suffering from rabies, he must immediately find a man of the Birzan section of the Mutair, and drink a coffee-cup full of his blood (which he pays for). The blood of a Birzani so taken is regarded among all the tribes of North-East Arabia as an infallible cure.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.
Confirmed by the Shaikh of the Birzan, the late 'Ali al Shuwairibat, in 1935

DIVISION OF SPOIL, GIFTS, ETC.

425 Among the Badawin the method adopted for the just division of spoil is to send one person some distance away, so that he cannot see what article is selected. Another will then call out "Who shall have this?" holding up or pointing at a particular article. The man must then in reply name one of the party. This custom has religious or *Shari'ah* sanction behind it.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.

MAKING DECISIONS

787 To decide whether a journey or other enterprise shall be undertaken, the counting of beads (odd or even) three times, is common among the Shi'ahs.

Among the Badawin the following method is adopted: A man will shut his eyes and hold his hands out in front of him, palms towards him, and fingers of the two hands pointing toward each other. He will then try slowly and with his eyes shut to bring the fingers together, so as to make the tip of the centre finger of one hand *exactly*

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Appendix VII

in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen. 223 825

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, ₀°₀, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King. 687 233 425 727

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and 825 233